THE EXAMINER.

JOHN H. HEYWOOD, NOBLE BUTLER, } EDITORS.

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☞ *We send, occasionally, a number of the* EXAMINER *to persons who are not subscribers, in the hope, that by a perusal of it, they may be induced to subscribe.*

EMANCIPATION TICKET.

CANDIDATES FOR THE CONVENTION.

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WM. RICHARDSON, Treasurer.
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Back Numbers Wanted.

If any of our subscribers can send us one or all of the following back numbers of the Examiner, they will greatly oblige us by so doing:

Of Vol. 1—Nos. 22, 25, 26, 36, 39, 47, 48, 50, 52.

Of Vol. 2—Nos. 56, 57, 61, 62, 63, 69, 73, 75, 78, 79, 91.

Emancipationists and Pro-Slavery Men.

It is very common to hear the opponents of Emancipation declare that the Emancipationists have done great and lasting injury by promoting the discussion of slavery in Kentucky. Allegations of this sort are made every day in all sections of the State. It is in vain however that we have called for the evidence on which the charge is based. We have seen no gloomy catalogue of results paraded in the pro-slavery organs, neither have we seen a man who has been able to point to proof that sustains the absurd allegation.

The Kentucky Emancipationists are very generally sober, discreet, conscientious men, who believe that slavery is a monstrous curse of which the sooner the State rids herself the better. They are therefore in favor of the earliest practicable scheme of Emancipation, keeping steadily in view the rights and interests of all parties who are to be affected by the proposed change in our system. To represent the Emancipationists in this Commonwealth as fanatics and madmen is to commit a most astounding falsification of truth. They are ardent but not rash—they are bold but not reckless—they are earnest but not fanatical. They believe that slavery is a subject which should be approached with all the caution that prudent men observe in approaching a powder magazine. It is eminently a question which should be candidly and calmly examined, not by the baleful light of passion but in the clear and steady radiance of truth. The question is so intimately associated with other questions—when you touch it you necessarily affect so many interests—that no man of true philanthrophy and intelligence would jeopard the welfare of the community by advocating Emancipation in a fanatical spirit. As an evidence of the truth of what we have here claimed for the Emancipationists, we will refer to the bitter vituperation, abuse, and calumny which the more unthinking of the pro-slavery men have heaped upon the motives and characters of the friends of Emancipation, and the patient and unrevengeful manner in which the Emancipationists have borne the grossest obloquy. From one end of the State to the other the pro-slavery men and the pro-slavery presses have, in the absence of logic and argument with which to meet Emancipationists, resorted to abuse. It is much easier to abuse a man than to answer his arguments, particularly if that man be an Emancipationist who is thoroughly well informed in relation to all the moral, social, economical, and political aspects of slavery.

We call on those who denounce us and those with whom we act, as breeders of mischief, as men who, misled by fanaticism, have brought on the State a vastly greater amount of injury than they can ever hope to make compensation for, to point out the particular sections in which all this mischief and injury have taken effect. The charge is so frequently made, that we think it time it should either be substantiated by an array of undeniable facts, or repudiated as miserable slang which having served its purpose ought now to be consigned to universal contempt. If pro-slavery men wish to benefit their cause by inducing the opponents of that cause to withdraw from the contest, they ought by all means to make good the charge that the friends of Emancipation are doing the alleged mischief and injury. If they can make it appear that the Emancipationists are doing a great deal of mischief and no good, we promise them that the mischief-makers will retire from the strife, for it is not their purpose to inflict injury on the State.

They are men of enlarged views who are impelled to oppose slavery by the conviction that slavery is the prolific parent of a thousand evils and vices and crimes. Their only object is to do good, and if you can convince them that they are not doing good, and are doing mischief we have no doubt you will induce them to desist from their warfare against what they sincerely consider the paramount curse of our State. But as long as they do not see the injury complained of, as long as they have reason to suppose their efforts productive of good, they will not be stultified by false allegations and give up a noble cause to escape the villification of their embittered foes.

If the question of slavery cannot be now discussed, when is it likely the day will dawn when its discussion will be proper and prudent? Is it likely that the system will ever become more manageable than it is at present if the enemies of slavery cease from their opposition to it? If it be a fact that the agitation of the question of slavery is dangerous now, is not that the strongest of reasons why wise men should conclude that a movement to remove so dangerous an institution from our midst is indispensable, and should be delayed no longer? What shall be said of the prudence and good sense of men who acknowledge that they are surrounded on all sides by danger, and who, while they see that danger becoming every day more imminent, take no steps to mitigate it? We think that they who talk of the danger and peril of discussing slavery at this time, afford an unanswerable reason why all Statesmen and honest men should immediately combine to adopt measures which contemplate the removal of the source of their peril.

If it be dangerous to attack slavery now, when will it be safe to do so? Is it not becoming more formidable every day, and is not the difficulty of removing it increasing every day? Do the people of Kentucky expect slavery to be perpetual in their State? Would they not regard such a policy as utterly crazy? Does it not become all those who believe that the best interests of the Commonwealth require the abolition of slavery at some future period, to make provision for the great work of Emancipation at the present moment? As the system is constantly enlarging itself and therewith the evils of removing it, all those who think it ought to terminate at some period ought certainly to demand its abolition at the earliest moment consistent with a due regard to all the interests that are to be effected by the measure.

Treatment of Laborers.

The last number of the Literary World is one of the best we have seen. It is full of interesting matter. The scene described by Dr. Dixon, in his "Methodism in America," must have been novel to him. We are glad to learn that the distinguished and wealthy publishers whom he mentions have a proper regard for the "dignity of labor." It seems that the working class in the free States are not all treated as slaves, the assertions of some of our pro-slavery men to the contrary notwithstanding.

Here is a glimpse of a scene familiar to many visitors to New York, who have enjoyed the courteous attentions of the Messrs. Harper in an introduction to the different departments of the huge Establishment in Cliff street. A distinguished Wesleyan clergyman of England, the Rev. Dr. Dixon, thus records on his return home his impressions on one of these occasions, in a volume entitled "Methodism in America." Long may the respect and courtesy paid to labor, which he notices, be characteristics of America.

"Mr. Harper's printing and publishing establishment is as remarkable as anything in the way of business can well be imagined. Everything is done on the same premises. How did Mr. Harper, one of the firm and master of these people, accost them? Did he rudely vociferate his orders in dictatorial and imperative language after the English fashion? No! On entering their apartment, he took off his hat, paid them the compliments of the morning, inquired after their health, and addressed them by the term 'young ladies.' Was this affected? Not in the least. It had all the appearance of habit; and certainly in their bearing, dress, and in the absence of all sluttishness, these females deserved respectful treatment. This will be sneered at by many of our countrymen, as a specimen of Yankeeism. Well, be it so, but let us ask, which is the man of breeding, the gentleman? the boisterous, imperious, swearing John Bull, giving his orders to his servants as if they were his slaves?—or this American, thus addressing the people who supply the hands, the sinews, the labor (though he may furnish the genius), which are creating his fortune?"

Sacredness of the Marriage Tie.

One very striking view of the subject of slavery we have often presented; and we wonder it does not produce its effect upon the mind of every conscientious Kentuckian. The christian religion ascribes a sacred character to the marriage relation; but our system of slavery does not recognise this relation among slaves. The master has the power of sundering the dearest ties—the most sacred obligations. He may say to the slave: "God has joined you to another in marriage; but the law gives me an authority superior to that of God. God has commanded that no man shall break the marriage bond; but the law tells me I may break it whenever I please. I do what the law gives me authority to do, regardless of the commands of God. His authority may be good in Heaven; but our law does not recognise it, and I will not." This is what the master says in effect when he exercises the power given him by the law. Some masters do all that they can to make the connection between slaves something more than the law considers it; but a thousand circumstances may put an end to his control over the matter. The law, which has been watching for an opportunity, immediately rushes in and snaps the bond. It seems to delight in the opportunity of showing its defiance of Heaven.

Slaves must be considered either human beings or beasts. The law, so far as regards marriage, treats them as beasts. If any man classes them among hogs and dogs, there is no inconsistency in his supporting the law. But whoever ranks them above the tenants of the sty and the kennel must see that the law is in direct opposition to Almighty God. It uses no circumlocutions to soften its language; but says distinctly and decidedly that it disregards the commands of the Ruler of the Universe. How can any one who professes to believe in christianity dare to take his stand by such a law in its warfare against Heaven?

When any one attacks the sacredness of the marriage obligation among the whites, a shudder is felt throughout the land. The author of the attack is denounced as the enemy of God and society. Not only professed Christians, but all who profess any regard for the well-being of their fellow-men rise up against him. Wherever a spark of moral feeling exists, it is kindled into indignation. If a legislative body were to pass a law impairing the marriage obligation, the members would be hissed from society and loaded with the execrations of every friend of man. The same thing is done with regard to the slaves, and ministers of the gospel, who profess to consider them human beings, support the law! On socialists, communists and others who are accused of a want of regard for the sacredness of the marriage state, they pour out the vials of their indignation. If the French Chamber of Deputies should establish Fourierism in France; the pulpits of our country would thunder with denunciations of the alleged heresies of Fourier with regard to marriage. But laws may be made in our own country trampling under foot the marriage obligation, and not a whisper of disapprobation is heard from those who support the system of slavery.

This is a very important matter; and yet it is completely *ignored* by the reverend supporters of our slave-system. We have no controversy with them on the subject of "slavery in the abstract." We do not wish to waste valuable ink and paper in conducting such useless discussions. Those who are defending our system should certainly strive to make it "slavery in the abstract." But no! They take it as it is, with its heaven-defying provisions staring them in the face, and support the whole! Suppose that an attempt were made to establish among us the Spartan custom of reducing the slaves to the state of beasts by intoxication in order that the children of the masters might be deterred from drunkenness—would not a universal outcry be heard? But beastly as is drunkenness, it is not half so degrading as a system of fornication and adultery. It is strange how the moral feelings of a community may be blunted. The poet is right when he tells us that vice may be seen so oft that "we first endure, then pity, then embrace." Men who shrink from vice when it presents itself in any other form, look upon it with complacency when it comes in this shape. The devil's ugly tail is easily transformed into a gentlemanly cue.

We wish the people of Kentucky would give this matter some attention. How can any one who has a particle of moral feeling pass it by? The moral view of the subject is far above all pecuniary considerations. The jingling of dollars and cents and "the idle clatter of statistics" cannot be heard here. Emancipationists are sometimes sneered at when they take any but an economical view of slavery. But who will deny that this feature of the system is morally wrong? If it is right, let it be proved to be so. We call upon every upholder of slavery, and upon every one who considers the subject a very trifling affair, to tell us why this is not a very important view of the matter. Prove it, prove it. Say something about it. Speak two or three words at least to show why it is not worth regarding. Do not close your mouths. Have you a conscience? What does it say? Take pity upon your fellow-citizens, and dispel their error, if they are in error. This dead silence on the subject is the worst feature in the case. Speak, if it is only to rebuke us.

Some men with a very high opinion of their own wisdom sneer at everything like a moral view of this point. If any one brings forward anything of the kind, they look down upon him with a self-sufficient smile of contempt, and tell him that this is taking a moral view of the subject, and intimate that they are far above such low views. Do such men intend to say that they have no moral sense? Or that morality is a thing not to be regarded by the wise and far-seeing men of society, as they consider themselves? Morality is something, or it is nothing. If it is nothing, let them prove it to us. If it is something, let them show why they are exempted from all obligation to regard it. Is it because they are above, or because they are below those of their fellow-citizens whom they consider bound by the requisitions of morality? Have they become so wise that they consider all the talk about duty, moral obligation, &c., as a mere expedient to keep fools in order? Or is the region of morality so high above them that they despair of being able to reach it? If the latter were their sentiment, we might admire their humility; but their self-complacent assumption of wisdom shows that they consider themselves above, and not below the region of moral speculation. They consider all society as resting upon a foundation of dollars and cents. They think it well to let the weak-minded believe that morality has something to do with the matter; for otherwise they might be led to dig up the dollar and cent foundation. Morality is a kind of fog raised by cunning men to hide the true foundations of society. Every blessing of heaven comes down, as Jupiter did to Danæ, in a shower of gold. Common mortals may have something thrown over their eyes by which the shower may be made to assume some other form. Plutus is the only god; but ordinary men may be made to believe in Pluto.

We repeat our earnest desire that men who believe in slavery, and men who consider the subject of slavery a very unimportant matter, will say something about this feature of our system. Some individuals may do as well as they can under the system, and thus be free from blame; but in our State we are discussing the system, and every voter will be called to vote upon the *system*. Let us have some light.

What we Desire.

Says the Apalachicola (Florida) Advertiser:

"We desire to encourage the honest, industrious whites from the interior of the State to come and settle in our city, and perform the labor now done by foreign negroes, many of whom are a curse to the community. It is an evidence of a want of that feeling of sympathy which we should possess for our own color, that while many honest, industrious white men and women in our city are unable to buy decent raiment, and can scarcely 'make two ends meet' in the matter of bread and meat, there are, in the city, negro men and women revelling in plenty, who flaunt by us on Sunday in their gay attire, turning up their noses at those they call 'poor white folks.' We have had applications made to us, and through us to others, for work, *by white men and women, to be enabled to get food to put into their and their children's mouths, which they had sought in vain*, while we could look out from our windows upon the habitations of negroes who were surrounded by every comfort, and whose dress surpassed that of almost any white laborer, or white laborer's wife in the city."

So we see that even in Florida, the people are growing impatient of this insufferable nuisance. The editor of the Advertiser desires to encourage the honest, industrious white laborer; the pro-slavery men of Kentucky are struggling to drive him out by throwing open the gates for the further introduction of slaves.

A Pro-slavery Man's Estimate of the Working Classes.

Mr. Robert Wickliffe, in his celebrated speech on the law of 1833, is thus reported:

Gentlemen wanted to drive out the black population, that they may obtain white negroes in their place. White negroes have this advantage over black negroes—they can be converted into voters, and the men who live upon the sweat of their brows, and pay them but a scanty subsistence, can, if able to keep ten thousand of them in employment, come up to the polls and change the destiny of the country. How improved will be our condition when we have such *white negroes* as perform the servile labor of Europe, of Old England, *and he would add now, New England?*

When our body servants, and our cart drivers, and our street sweepers are WHITE NEGROES instead of black, where will be the independence, the proud spirit, and the chivalry of Kentucky then?

"White negroes." Listen to that, non-slaveholders of Kentucky! This is the aristocracy your are called on to protect and perpetuate. Is there a mechanic or working man in Kentucky so cowardly and degraded that he can find no spark of indignation within him to rouse him to the struggle for its overthrow? The day is fast approaching when you must answer this question at the polls.

The Slave Traffic and its Effects.

A correspondent of the "American Statesman" writing from Washington, says:

There is one branch of human activity here that rarely falters or flags. I refer to the infernal business of trafficing in men and women, body and soul. Last Monday week, there arrived in the morning train from Baltimore, from thirty to forty persons, who had been *bought* up in Maryland, for the Southern market, by the hyenas of our dishonored race, who lend themselves to that abhorred occupation. *Seven* or *ten* years ago they would have been driven in their irons up the great Federal Avenue to Seventh street, and then wheeled through that street to William's pen. Now they were quietly put into *seven hacks* and carried over there. This company was chiefly made up of young men and women—the sons and daughters, the brothers and sisters of *somebody!* Last Monday an omnibus crowded with a similar group of persons, came by the way of Georgetown, through the upper ward of the city, crossing over on to a somewhat retired street that passes the south front of the President's house—sometimes called the back of it, and made its way to one of the *pens*—William's I presume. As far as my information extends, this company was picked up in the vicinity of Leesburg, Va., probably. On the same day and about the same hour a carry-all passed through the streets, having a white wretch, as a driver, and a sad looking colored woman, with two little children, on the back seat. These, too, were deposited in one of the pens, for transportation to Richmond, and eventually to the South. A week ago to-day a stout, noble looking young man was brought into the city in handcuffs, by a rascal, who prowls about the upper part of Maryland, as a broker for the slave-traders. Shall I proceed! Good God! have we not already reached high noon of the nineteenth Christian century? Has not chattelhood been revolutionised out of Europe for a long time, and proscribed by all governments there? Has not the Bey of Tunis abolished it in his jurisdiction for the "glory of humanity," as he says? Has not the Imperial Turk, too, suppressed the slave markets? But here we are, *Republicans—Democrats*—up to the chin, with slave-kennels under our noses, with slave-breeders and traders unhung all around us.

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However jagged the surface of society may look, there is one source of unfailing satisfaction; Eternal justice will have its course. He, who will not yield to its fair claims, shall either now, or hereafter endure its penalties. It is the very stuff upon which the throne of the Universe stands fast. To set aside its demands, or postpone the rigor of its exactions when violated, is a thing impossible. It is most worthy of thought and observation, that widely different results will ultimately be reached, by a State or community, by the embodying of justice, in four line of a statute, or the omission to do so. For example look at Maryland. A withering, shriveled shell of a State—without development, without enterprise, without popular intelligence or energy, without *people* in short. Her lands lying in their wild, unreclaimed state, or, if otherwise, exhausted, worn out and valueless, a heavy debt and taxation upon her, without the magnanimity to incline her, even at this late hour, to deal justly by her poor laboring people, what can she do but perish? She has robbed her laborers of their wages and now writhes under the penalty of violated justice. There is no escape for her, except only in a return to right and duty.

Let us see a little how the account stands. Take Seventh-street in this city, pursue very nearly a North course, and fifty-five or fifty-seven miles will bring you to the line of Pennsylvania. For the first twenty miles you pass a country rather inclined to level, though in many places undulating, and lying now in wide-spread, worn-out or neglected old fields.—Abused and sorrowing nature, cries out, through every rood of the soil, against the ruthless wretches, who trample down her laws, by blood-stained exactions of oppression. In passing the rest of the way the surface becomes beautifully rolling; and the soil is fresher and less exhausted by bad usage. For all in all the upper part of Maryland is naturally a fine country—picturesque—a quick, susceptible soil, if not particularly strong and enduring. The advantages for farming purposes, are all on the side of this section of Maryland, over New England. With an abundant supply of fine water courses, a soil well adapted to making good and cheap roads or an exhaustless supply of timber, just right for the construction of plank roads, this whole section can always command a high market either at Washington or Baltimore, within twenty to thirty miles.

With every reasonable, natural advantage on their side what is the present condition of things among the people. In the first place they have no roads, that are regularly made and kept in repair. They are just what passing over them happens to make them, good, bad, or indifferent. There are visible in the fifty-five miles distance, only three little structures, apparently intended for public worship, excepting in a village to be mentioned directly. There are no more than three small school houses to be seen all the way, with the above exception. With the exception of one flock of cows in a barn-yard, there is not a well-bred, respectable looking ox or cow to be seen for forty miles. Their heads, horns, hoofs and tails constitute by far the heaviest *quarter* of these degenerated animals. Scarcely any sheep are to be seen.—Skinny, halting old horses, from two to six on each place, make up the principal part of the stock. The sharp-nosed, shad-shaped black and white pigs, perhaps, ought not to be forgotten, in the inventory of "goods and effects." But a single fact—the price of land—tells the whole story. On the road, within twenty miles of this city, one of the highest markets in the country—lands are sold from two to seven dollars an acre. A body of eleven hundred acres, fifteen miles only from Washington, was sold only a few weeks since for two thousand dollars! That was rather low—the wood was chiefly cut off. Along further, where the soil is fresher and less worn, the better sort of farms are sold at ten and twelve dollars an acre, including buildings, which are often newish and respectable, and all within twenty-five miles of Baltimore. In this distance there is but one single village, Westminister, the *shire* town of Corrol county. In that there are two or three small churches and *one* school-house. I must stop.

But let me ask a single question. If Maryland at the outset had simply in four lines, declared all her people "free and equal," in the eye of law, does any mortal man suppose she would now be one whit behind Massachusetts, in what goes to make up the substantial elements of greatness, prosperity, growth, development? Injustice, rank and foul, is her crime. The penalty is upon her. Let others be warned in time! And save the already free from the bright and ruin of slavery.

Methodism and Slavery.

From the following extract from Zion's Herald, a Boston Methodist paper, it will be seen that the editor supposes no prominent Methodist minister is engaged in the Emancipation movement in Kentucky. He is mistaken. Methodist ministers of great talent and influence are with us, earnestly and effectively laboring in the cause. Their influence will be felt. But we have no objections to seeing others come forward. The field is large, and there is plenty of room for more laborers. Come on!

We are mortified that we do not find associated with the Breckenridges, Campbells, and other clerical leaders of the public opinion in this noble undertaking, any prominent Methodist. It cannot be questioned that the Methodist ministry of Kentucky could control this great question; nay, a half a score of the leading men of that ministry, by openly taking a stand for the movement, could control the question. The rest would follow in their steps, the people would generally follow the ministry, and, with the numerical strength of Methodism in the State, no opposition could resist the moral force which would thus be brought to support the movement. *The Methodist ministry of Kentucky will be responsible if this great effort fails.*

Spirit of the Age.

We have received the third number of a new paper with this title. It is we believe, to take the place of the Harbinger as the advocate of Association. It is a beautifully printed paper, edited by W. H. Channing, who is acknowledged by all who know him to be a man of powerful talents, whatever may be thought of his peculiar views. Whatever can be said in favor of Association he will say in the best way.

The Ordinance Celebration.

The "Free Democracy," celebrated the day of the enactment of the Ordinance at Cleveland on the 13th. Judge Tappan presided. Among the distinguess present were Messrs. Giddings, Chase, John Van Buren, Ellsworth, J. W. Taylor, Spaulding, and J. C. Vaughan. Speeches were made, resolutions were adopted, and letters read from several invited guests, declining to attend. Among these are the following:

LINDENWALD, July 7th, 1849.

Gentlemen:—I have received the invitation with which you have honored me to unite with the Freemen of the Reserve, in celebrating the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, on the 13th inst., and return you my best thanks for this proof of your respect and confidence.

It will not be in my power to comply with your request, and it can scarcely be necessary to say to you how cordially and earnestly I concur in the policy of the great measure you desire to sustain.

That 'the Ordinance of 1787,' lies at the foundation of the growth and prosperity of the people and States of the Northwest:—that the vigor and vitality they possess, is justly attributable to its action—that the exclusion of slavery by that act, from this territory—all then held by the Nation—declared the original, and affirmed the future policy of the American people; and that the influence of Government should be kept, actively and perpetually on the side of Freedom—are opinions which deserve, and will, I doubt not, at no distant day, meet with the heartfelt concurrence of the masses of the people of every section of our extended confederacy. Sincerely wishing you success in your patriotic efforts, I am, Gentlemen, very respectfully, Your obedient servant.

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

Messrs. JOHN C. VAUGHN, THOMAS BROWN. } Committee.

ASHLAND, June 16, 1849.

Gentlemen:—I received your official letter, in behalf of the Freemen of the Reserve, inviting me to unite with them at Cleveland, in celebrating the anniversary of the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, on the 13th of July next. I concur entirely in opinion as to the wisdom of that great measure, and I am glad it has secured to the States on which it operates, an exemption from the evils of slavery. But the event of the passage of the Ordinance has never, within my knowledge, been celebrated in any one of the sixty-one years which has intervened. It is proposed for the first time to commemorate it. It is impossible to disguise the conviction, that this purpose originates out of the question, now unfortunately agitating the whole Union, of the introduction of slavery into New Mexico and California. Whilst no one can be more opposed than I am to the extension of slavery into those new territories, either by the authority of Congress, or by individual enterprise, I should be unwilling to do anything to increase the prevailing excitement. I hope that the question will be met in a spirit of calmness and candor, and finally settled in a manner to add strength and stability, instead of bringing any danger, to the existence of our Union. In all our differences of opinion, we should never cease to remember that we are fellow-citizens of one common and glorious country, nor to exercise mutual and friendly forbearance.

But, gentlemen, waiving all other considerations, indispensable engagements, will prevent my attendance on the occasion which you have done me the honor to invite me.

With respect, I am
Your friend and ob't serv't,
H. CLAY.

Messrs. JOHN C. VAUGHAN, THOMAS BROWN. } Committee.

TEACHERS FOR MINESOTA.—Eleven young ladies in company with Gov. Slade, have gone to Minesota, for the purpose of establishing schools in that Territory. They are sent out by the Board of National Popular Education.

JOHN KNOX, the Scotch Reformer's house in Edinburgh, being in a dangerous state, has to be taken down. It is proposed to mark the stones and re-erect it in exactly the same manner.

COMMUNICATIONS.

LETTER III.

For the Examiner.

REV. WM. C. BUCK:—

Dear Sir:—In the commencement of your fourth article you employ this language: "We wish our readers distinctly to understand that we admit that the institution of slavery, through the cupidity and rapaciousness of wicked men, has been awfully perverted and abused. That it has been the occasion of enormous and crying sins by both master and slave; and that we do not appear as the apologist, much less the defender of any perversion or abuse of the institution," &c. The system of slavery, then, according to your own concession is susceptible of perversion and abuse, and the perversion and abuse are induced by cupidity and rapaciousness. You restrict "cupidity and rapaciousness" to wicked men. I shall not call in question the propriety of the restriction; but I will say that it is to be feared that many men who are *reputed* good christians—even exemplify the cupidity to which you refer. I have heard professors of religion say that slave labor is comparatively unprofitable in Kentucky, and that it is much more lucrative "*to raise negroes for sale.*" They absolutely speak of "raising negroes" as they do of raising mules, cattle and hogs. The idea is horrible. Rational beings, on whose souls God has stamped immortality, are placed on an equality with beasts that perish. You will say this is an abuse of slavery. Very well. It is just such an abuse as the Constitution and laws of our State tolerate, and you are of opinion that they should remain unchanged. Your kindness will permit me to say that I consider you obnoxious to the charge of inconsistency. You are unwilling to be considered either the "apologist" or "defender" of any "perversion or abuse" of slavery; and yet you wish our present Constitution which permits the perversion and abuse you deprecate to remain as it is. Now it seems to me you ought either to become the "apologist," not to say the "defender" of the abuses of slavery, or advocate such a change in the Constitution as will correct the abuses of the system. Let the abuses, however, be corrected, and I predict that slavery will not exist in Kentucky for a generation. I shall perhaps say more on this point in another place.

You express the opinion that there is less "destitution" in countries in which slavery exists than in those in which it does not—that it would be better for the poor in Ireland to be slaves &c. You say, "Take Ireland for an example and suppose the Government had so provided that, instead of an oppressed and impoverished tenantry, subjected to the rapacity and heartless exactions of overgrown landlords, the poor of the country could have sold themselves for a given period to the wealthy, so as to make it the duty and the interest of the wealthy to provide for the health and subsistence of the slave," &c. Do you intend your readers to infer that the poor should be made slaves because they are poor? I would seriously object to an arrangement of this kind. So numerous are the changes which occur in the course of human events that I would be constantly apprehensive of being placed in circumstances so necessitous as to require my enslavement. And you might be placed in a similar predicament, if indeed it be courteous for me to draw an inference from allusions you sometimes make to your pecuniary embarrassments. In such a case we would both oppose, with all the intensity of a *personal* objection, the philosophy which would make poverty the basis of slavery.

You say could the Irish "have sold themselves for a given period to the wealthy," &c. Please observe your words, "*for a given period.*" Why this qualification of the sentence? Why not require them to become slaves for life, and also put the fetters of bondage on their posterity? This would be something analogous to American slavery. If our system be defensible, let it be the model of every system that may be established, and even when a supposition is indulged in reference to slavery in Ireland or any where else, let our own "institution" suggest that supposition. But the poor in Ireland could not sell themselves as absolute slaves. They might become hired servants—but not slaves. Suppose a "wealthy landlord" were to propose to buy his poor neighbors, for a certain sum, with the intention of enslaving them, and they were to accede to his proposition. Just as soon as the contract was consummated and the money paid to the suffering poor, not only would *they*, but the very money received by them would belong to the landlord. The *quid pro quo*, the principle necessary to the validity of a contract, would be wanting. The bargain would be null and void. You are aware that Blackstone in his chapter on "Master and Servant" presents this view and shows the folly of attempting to base slavery on a contract between man and man.

I proceed to notice your remarks in regard to the original purchasers of African slaves. And here I think you have drawn very largely on your imagination. You suppose that there were three classes of purchasers and that these purchasers "*are the representatives of three distinct classes of slaveholders in this county at this time.*" The first class of purchasers you suppose "selfish and sordid" their object being to "enrich themselves." Pecuniary gain was the only consideration which operated on them. The second class "from mere impulses of humanity—*love to their neighbors*—resolved to purchase all they could," &c. "The third class of purchasers," you observe, were christians, who did not only feel all the sympathy and generous philanthropy which influenced the *second class*, but looking beyond their temporal condition, miserable as that was, contemplated them as being without God and without hope in the world, and sinking down to the death that never dies; and in addition to, and above, the impulses of philanthropy, their souls were stirred within them for the salvation of their souls as well as their bodies; they therefore resolved to buy to the utmost of their means."

What you say of your "second and third class of purchasers" I am somewhat at a loss to understand. I am tempted to believe you intended to present a fancy picture, and yet, from the sober strain in which you write, it seems you designed to state the facts in the case. But are they facts? Can you name a class of men who in the early settlement of America went across the Atlantic to Africa "from mere impulses of humanity" to purchase slaves, "believing that they could materially better their condition?" Does history contain a record of such a class? If so I am ignorant of the fact, and would gladly be informed. I would like to do honor to the memory of men whose "impulses of humanity" excited so much sympathy for the African race. Give me, if you please, the names of those who composed this philanthropic "class." They deserve a celebrity which they have not yet attained; and if through your kindness justice should be done them *even at this late period*, you will have the satisfaction of knowing that you have brightened one of the hitherto dark pages of the history of the African slave trade.

"The third class of purchasers," you remark, "were christians." The men of this class, it seems, were men of philanthropic and religious sensibilities. They were specially concerned for the salvation of the souls of the Africans. "They therefore resolved to buy to the utmost of their means," believing that slavery in America would be instrumental in emancipating the enslaved from the bondage of sin and Satan. Is it not strange that *religious* considerations prompted men to engage in a traffic which our Government has declared to be piracy? Christian sympathies are not accustomed to operate so singularly, not to say capriciously. Is it not wonderful that our Missionaries to the heathen in Asia have never thought of sending the benighted Asiatics to this country that the fetters of bondage might be riveted on their bodies for the good of their souls? You will not be offended if I ask you to give the names of the men whose religion suggested to them the propriety of investing their capital "to the utmost," in African slaves. I have never been in the habit of associating religion with the slave trade. It has appeared to me that the "gospel" and a "slaver," "christianity" and "fetters," "prayers" and "chains," "praises and lashes," are terms which have no special affinity for each other. You will infer that I am rather incredulous as to what you say of your "second and third class" of the original purchasers of African slaves. This is true; but I hope it will not offend you. I know of nothing which can overcome my incredulity except historical facts well authenticated.

When you look thoroughly into the matter I imagine that you will find that the original purchasers of African slaves were men of your "first class"—"selfish and sordid." I think you will see that it is needless to have more than one "class." The slave trade, if its history is not a fable, had its origin in cupidity, and the same cause, in the terrible energy of its operation, continues it even now while England, France, and the United States are conjointly resolved to abolish it. What will the love of money not do?

Permit me to make another quotation from your fourth article: You say, "we maintain that that class of slaveholders, who are represented by the above class of purchasers, (the first class) and who are influenced by similar motives, whether they have purchased or inherited their slaves, are in a like condemnation." I would be glad for all the slaveholders in Kentucky to see this extract. You here admit that "selfish and sordid" considerations should not operate on the slaveholder's mind. The object of your "first class" of purchasers was to "enrich themselves," and the owners of slaves who have the same object in view, are equally guilty with original purchasers, or as you say, "are in a like condemnation." Is not pecuniary gain the potent consideration which influences and controls the thousands of slaveholders in the State who oppose Emancipation? I rejoice that there are many slaveholders who are among the most zealous friends of the Emancipation cause. They are men of whom I am proud, and of whom the State may well be proud. But I affirm it as a general fact that pro-slavery men among slaveholders are prompted by what they consider their pecuniary interest to oppose the present Emancipation movement. Their approbation of the system of slavery grows out of its supposed capability of producing dollars and cents. Take away the pecuniary advantages of the system and they will be the first men to denounce it. I fear you will have to place them with your "first class of purchasers," and declare them "in a like condemnation." I have already said that you lay down certain principles which, in their legitimate tendency, would have an important bearing on the extinction of slavery. This is one: You condemn the purchasers of African slaves who had in view their pecuniary interest, and not the good of the slaves. You condemn slaveholders who sympathise in purpose with these purchasers. Now I say that whenever the minds of slaveholders are brought to the conclusion that slaves cannot be held, or ought not to be held for the pecuniary benefit of masters the days of slavery will be numbered. Slavery cannot be perpetuated in Kentucky unless those in favor of its perpetuation consider it pecuniarily advantageous; and if this motive induces them to continue the system they will, you being judge, involve themselves in the same "condemnation" with the men whose names will go down to posterity in infamous connection with the African slave trade. Who would not deprecate such a condemnation?

Yours truly, J. M. PENDLETON.

P. S. In my first letter as published this sentence occurs: If slavery as it exists in Kentucky, promotes the "holiness and happiness" of slaves, ignorance is "holiness and happiness." It should be ignorance is *essential* to holiness and happiness. J. M. P.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS

DISEASE OF WINTER.—On Consumption, Coughs, Colds, Asthma and other diseases of the Chest; their remedial and avertive treatment; addressed in popular language to non-medical readers, with copious observations on the Diet and Regimen necessary for Invalids. Also, an Appendix containing two hundred formulae of the latest and most approved remedies, many valuable domestic recipes, and full directions for the practice of inhalation. By R. J. CULVERWELL, M. D. Author of "Guide to Health," "How to be Happy," etc. New York: J. S. Redfield, 1849.

We give the title of this little work in full, as it presents a good idea of the contents. We consider this a work calculated to be of great service to the of people to whom it is addressed. The health of many persons is destroyed forever through ignorance. Many are utterly reckless, and would sacrifice every thing on the altar of fashion; and many would gratify the appetite of the moment, though they knew that years of suffering would follow. But others violate the laws of health because they do not know them. This work will give such persons a great amount of valuable information. The author uses strong, forcible language, and presents his views clearly to the mind.

CANZONE AND SONNETS OF FRANCISCO PETRARCA.—With notes and a sketch of his life. By SUSAN WOLLASTON. First American, from the only English edition. Edited by BEN CASSEDAY, A. M. Louisville: Ben Casseday & Co., 1849.

Most persons will be surprised to see such a work as this from a Western press; and we were afraid the edition would lie on the shelves of the publishers. But there are a great many who will be glad to read a translation of the sonnets inspired by the world-renowned Laura. The mechanical execution of the work does credit to the publishers. Prefixed to the work is a fine likeness of Petrarca engraved by Jewett and Anderson of Cincinnati.

There is only one diamond cutter in London. The Dutch have for ages monopolized the diamond cutting trade of Europe, and so expert are they, that on showing them a rough diamond, they will tell to the greatest nicety what will be its exact shape when cut, and almost to the hundreth part of a grain, what the polished gem will weigh.

REVIVAL OF THE DUBLIN NATION.—By a letter just received from Charles Gavan Duffy, we learn that his great journal, "*The Nation*," will be revived almost immediately. This noble man can now, more than ever speak to his countrymen as "one having authority." His unbending patriotism and the nobleness of spirit he displayed under the sufferings which a wantonly tyrannical Government imposed upon him, have made him reverenced still more than ever by every friend to Ireland and to freedom. The *Nation* will have an enormous circulation in Ireland and in this country. We are in a position to receive subscriptions and orders for it.—*Pittsburg Mercury.*

The town of Bolton, Mass., is erecting a school house to be used for a high school, with money left by Mr. Houghton, a curious compound of Yankee generosity and littleness.—He gives $12,000 to the town for this purpose, but with a proviso, that the descendants of nine persons, whom he names, shall not have the privilege, for one hundred years, of attending the school.—*N. E. Washingtonian.*

The Rev. Mr. Magoon has accepted a call from the Baptist Church in Oliver street to become their pastor.—*N. Y. Eve. Post.*

Emancipation.

From the Covington (Ky.) [illegible]

In my last communication, [illegible] paper, on the subject of Emanci[illegible] that Emancipationists esteemed [illegible] nuisance in our State; greatly injurious [illegible] lic and individual interests. [illegible] slavery is worthy of a more distinct [illegible] tion, for I think it furnishes an [illegible] argument to prove that the [illegible] power and the right to abolish it.

If it can be shown, (as I [illegible] can,) that slavery is a nuisance, [illegible] duct and declared intentions of our [illegible] give a power and force to the argument [illegible] cannot be resisted. They say that Emancipation [illegible] of slaves must henceforth be prohibited, and [illegible] the liberated slaves shall be sent out of the State, because free negroes are a nuisance. In other words, they say the right to liberate negroes who are still to remain in the State as freemen, must be abolished, because these free negroes are a nuisance to slaveholders.

But I will specify the injuries which pro-slavery men say free negroes cause, and which justly authorise them to be treated as a nuisance. And I will show that slavery is productive of greater injuries, and therefore, according to the reasoning of pro-slavery men, must be considered a greater nuisance, and, therefore, ought to be abolished. In the first place, they say free negroes cause their slaves to be *discontented and disobedient*. I will, for the present argument, admit this to be true. But is it not equally true that slavery has rendered the small farmers and tenants in our State discontented? So that the greater number of them have left the most fertile and beautiful parts of our country, and gone to other States, or to the hills and mountains of our own—where very few slaves are found. Their free spirits could not submit to the inferior condition in which they deeply felt themselves placed, as manual laborers, in comparison with the condition of slaveholders. And they have removed to other States, where the same inequality would not insult their proud feelings, as freemen; or they have been pushed back, back, amongst the hills and mountains of Kentucky, to make wide room for the slaveholder and his slaves, in the garden spots of our land. And is it not also true, that slavery does very frequently render the